2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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554 generality and have different relevance depending upon circumstances. An individual's position on each of these contrasts constitutes a role, entailing certain well-recognized expectations of behaviour on appropriate occasions.

182 554 How does a social system fragmented by cross-cutting divisions keep from falling apart into small splinter groups? The answer lies with the interaction patterns which are indicative of social cohesion, which mark out the clusters of networks and which counteract the long-standing factional disputes. Four major types of public reciprocity, of which the first is the most widespread, hold together the people separated by these cleavages: (1) public discussions; (2) the exchange of women in marriage; (3) joint participation in ceremonial meals; and (4) the exchange of goods and services. All four are types of communication, and to operate as such they must depend on network clusters; in other words, reciprocity can only be maintained on a continuing basis when it activates a persisting social structure. Badagas do not offer their goods, their meals, their daughters or even their conversation in a haphazard way to *anybody*: the social structure, analysed by Badagas in terms of these dyadic contrasts, determines quite clearly who shall receive certain goods and services, who shall marry the daughters and so on. Not only is the pattern of reciprocity dictated by the social structure—by the positioning of network clusters—but it in turn gives coherence to that structure: there is a dialectical process in the integration of the society. If Badagas were to recognize the emergent socio-economic classes as a new criterion of social differentiation their communication networks, patterns of reciprocity and system of role allocation would all have to be drastically revised. At present they prefer to (178) think somewhat anachronistically in terms of their old social organization, for it provides a reassuring stability to present-day social relations.

● 156 183 Although the social system assigns an individual to certain positions from birth, however, he continuously adapts himself to what he perceives of the shifting organization of network-clusters. In these adaptations the individual has a certain amount of choice. It is clearly limited by what he considers to be the relevant expectations of his fellows; but cultural norms do not dictate role change so absolutely that a man is unable to exercise his personal preferences. Cultural orientations are used by a Badaga to bolster or direct his motivations in the pursuit of the valued ends of his

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156 183 life. While he is busily making a living, gaining respect and maintaining status he apparently goes through a continuing process of re-evaluating these activities in the light of changing conditions and new information. Such re-evaluation takes the dual form of private thought or meditation and of informal public discussions about his clique, their friends, and their various attitudes to life. So important is this re-evaluation process that many men can be seen devoting a major part of their waking time to it. The womenfolk are equally concerned with re-evaluation through conversations, but are obliged to work physically at the same time (Harkness, 1832, 114; Metz, 1864, 98–99; Benbow, 1930, 3–5; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 247; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 5–6; see Plate 10). In such discussions Badagas experience the need to make manifest from time to time the norms by which their behaviour is guided. This process not only makes the norms explicit but reinforces their validity in most cases, too. At the same time ambiguous or anachronistic norms are subject to scrutiny and then modification or total rejection. In view of this re-evaluation 121 process it is no longer enough to know that a modern Badaga is a male of a certain age, from a certain village and phratry or of one particular category in their social system in order to predict how he will conduct himself in any given situation. We also need to understand the more transient social formations and networks with which he is associated, the social functions of these formations and networks, and also the manner in which their members are recruited. As I have observed on many occasions, the play of 178 elementary logic, of conflicting orientations, personalities and 521 proverbs, the relevance of everything said to everyone within earshot are all factors making for fascinating and valuable conversation among Badagas. Slowly yet dynamically their culture is changing, not simply through external programmes devised for the modernization of India, but consciously, indeed conscientiously, through this tedious and time-consuming procedure. Faced with the need to vote for a variety of parliamentary candidates, confronted with propaganda on the value of family planning or with another current topic, individuals discuss the issues, try to reach a consensus and then act accordingly.

184 178 Those cleavages in the social system across which conversation is not permissible are barriers to the free flow of communication, and on either side of these barriers variant orientations develop. To understand cultural change we should pay some attention to

584 fathers of those girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a
(583) family already linked to the hamlet through previous marriages. A reciprocal exchange of women between two sibs -- and specifically between these two hamlets -- thus becomes a more tangible and acceptable pattern of behavior.

583 The intrusion of a demand for dowry into this situation can be an unpleasant change: two families, lineages or hamlets which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance which proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks dowry it may rupture the stability they have achieved over a period of several generations; for dowry is taken to imply a kind of social inequality between the two parties. Paying dowry for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

(178) The reciprocal nature of alliances and the traditions of Badaga marriage are still being adhered to as far as possible. For this reason, if no other, the payment of dowry is supposed to be a "secret", and the recipient of it is still obliged to pay the Rs. 200 honnu. Among those who are wealthy enough to demand
556 or pay a dowry, however, fulfillment of their traditional roles in Badaga society
• 156 can become a problem-laden, even anachronistic, burden. Some of these men now command annual incomes a hundred or more times greater than the average
(557) income of other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly risen inequality the wealthy are constantly being plagued by importunate villagers and distant relatives, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate the traditional bonds of friendship or kinship in order to maximize their share in the power
(166) and influence of the nouveaux riches. It is therefore not surprising to find that the wealthiest Badagas have been the first to leave their natal village and build themselves comfortable houses in the towns or in the middle of their tea estates.